

HART-BREGLIO
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1105 registered votersDates: July 5-7, 1992

48 Male
52 Female
[5]

FINAL II 7/8/92

Study #4029
NBC News/WSJ
July 1992

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Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Breglio for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Breglio for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

- Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes, registered.....	10	CONTINUE	[15]
	0		
No, not registered.....	-	TERMINATE AND	
		DO NOT COUNT	
Not sure.....	-		

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

		NBC												
		<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>11/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>8/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/9</u>
			<u>2</u>				<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>				<u>1</u>		<u>1</u>
Right direction	14	14	17	19	18	20	19	25	33	41	33	40	40	55 [16]
Wrong track....	71	72	70	67	67	68	64	57	49	38	50	44	38	26
Mixed (VOL)....	9	9	9	11	11	9	13	13	14	15	12	13	17	15
Not sure.....	6	5	4	3	4	3	4	5	4	6	5	3	5	4

<u>2/91</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/8</u>
	<u>0</u>							<u>0</u>		<u>9</u>
65	28	22	45	40	42	47	44	49	41	42
22	51	59	40	37	38	32	31	29	35	34
9	15	14	10	18	16	13	20	17	19	19
4	6	5	5	5	4	8	5	5	5	5

- 3a. Would you say that you and your family are better off or worse off than you were four years ago?

		<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/91</u>	
						<u>1</u>		
Better off.....	3	38	35	36	39	42	40	[17]
	4							
Worse off.....	4	39	43	41	40	39	37	
	2							
About the same (VOL)	2	22	20	22	20	17	22	
	2							
Not sure.....	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	

- 3b. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The economic and political systems in this country are stacked against people like me"?

		<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>10/23-26/88*</u>	<u>10/14-16/88*</u>	<u>9/88*</u>	<u>8/8</u>	
				<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>				<u>8</u>	
Agree.....	56	45	59	47	43	44	48	42	43	50	43	51	[18]
													1
Disagree.....	37	49	37	47	51	49	46	54	48	42	46	39	
Not sure.....	7	6	4	6	6	7	6	4	9	8	11	10	

* The question read, "Do you think the political and economic systems in this country are stacked against people like you, or don't you think so?"

4. I'm going to read you the names of several groups and people who are active in public affairs, and those of some cities. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM "DAN QUAYLE" AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ALWAYS ASK "NEW YORK CITY" AND "THE CITY OF HOUSTON" LAST.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/Not Sure</u>	
George Bush							[19]
July 1992.....	9	26	18	23	23	1	
May 1992.....	12	28	17	21	21	1	
April 1992.....	15	29	17	19	19	1	
February 1992.....	15	30	16	18	20	1	
January 1992.....	16	33	17	18	15	1	
December 1991.....	19	35	13	19	13	1	
October 1991.....	27	35	15	12	10	1	
July 1991.....	38	33	10	11	7	-	
May 1991.....	42	35	10	8	4	1	
March 1991.....	50	30	9	6	4	1	
October 1990.....	20	36	17	15	11	1	
July 1990.....	26	42	16	10	5	1	
May 1990.....	28	40	15	11	5	1	
March 1990.....	32	37	15	10	5	1	
December 1989.....	28	33	21	11	5	2	
November 1989.....	24	38	17	11	8	2	
The U.S. Congress							[20]
July 1992.....	1	13	23	35	25	3	
May 1992.....	2	15	19	32	29	3	
Bill Clinton							[21]
July 1992.....	8	22	27	22	16	5	
May 1992.....	9	24	23	24	15	5	
April 1992.....	8	24	20	25	18	5	
February 1992.....	7	22	22	19	13	17	
January 1992.....	5	17	17	5	3	53	
December 1991.....	3	12	13	4	2	66	
October 1991.....	3	7	14	5	2	69	
Jesse Jackson							[22]
July 1992.....	5	17	25	21	29	3	
May 1992.....	7	22	25	18	24	4	
February 1992.....	8	21	23	20	24	4	
October 1991.....	9	22	22	21	22	4	
October 1990.....	12	25	24	17	18	4	
March 1990.....	15	28	24	14	15	4	
November 1989.....	15	30	23	16	13	3	
Ross Perot							[23]
July 1992.....	14	23	23	15	16	9	
May 1992.....	13	20	26	7	7	27	
April 1992.....	13	18	21	7	6	35	
Paul Tsongas							[24]
July 1992.....	7	24	29	14	8	18	
February 1992.....	5	17	27	12	5	34	
January 1992.....	1	8	18	7	4	62	
December 1991.....	1	7	16	5	2	69	
October 1991.....	1	7	13	6	3	70	
Q.4. (cont'd)	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/</u>	

Not
Sure**Hillary Clinton**

July 1992.....	7	15	30	16	14	18	[25]
April 1992.....	8	16	24	17	12	23	
February 1992.....	7	15	19	9	9	41	

Jerry Brown

July 1992.....	3	16	26	24	21	10	[26]
April 1992.....	5	17	22	24	24	8	
January 1992.....	3	15	21	18	15	28	
December 1991.....	3	15	22	16	12	32	
October 1991.....	3	14	21	15	13	34	

The Supreme Court

July 1992.....	8	28	26	23	11	4	[27]
May 1992.....	10	32	27	16	10	5	

Dan Quayle

July 1992.....	7	19	22	21	29	2	[28]
May 1992.....	5	19	28	20	24	4	
April 1992.....	6	20	28	22	21	3	
February 1992.....	7	22	26	20	22	3	
January 1992.....	6	25	27	20	18	4	
December 1991.....	7	25	28	20	18	2	
October 1991.....	10	25	28	15	18	4	
July 1991.....	9	24	30	18	15	3	
May 1991.....	9	25	27	17	18	4	
March 1991.....	7	26	29	15	18	5	
October 1990.....	5	22	28	19	19	7	
July 1990.....	6	22	33	16	14	9	
May 1990.....	7	22	29	18	19	5	
March 1990.....	7	21	28	17	19	8	
November 1989.....	7	22	26	17	21	7	
	4	11	31	22	16	16	

New York City..... [29]**Houston, Texas.....** [30]

5a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?

		NBC													[31]
		<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>11/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>8/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>5/91</u>		
Approve.....	38	41	43	45	53	52	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	74		
Disapprove....	56	52	52	48	40	41	39	30	27	21	25	21	19		
Not sure.....	6	7	5	7	7	7	10	7	9	9	8	3	7		
		<u>3/91</u>	<u>2/91</u>	<u>1/91</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/30</u>	<u>10/19</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/8</u>	
					<u>0</u>	-	-			<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	
						<u>31/90</u>	<u>21/90</u>								
		81	85	77	57	56	59	75	67	72	75	69	71	67	
		13	11	15	36	32	32	15	22	21	15	19	19	22	
		6	4	8	7	12	9	10	11	7	10	12	10	11	

5b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the economy?

		<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	
Approve....	19	21	23	23	23	23	<u>31</u> <u>1</u>	41	38	47	44	[32] 1
Disapprove.....	76	73	72	72	70	71	61	51	52	48	44	
Not sure.	5	6	5	5	7	6	8	8	10	5	12	
		<u>3/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>
		44	37	35	52	48	51	59	53	54	<u>52</u> <u>9</u>	61
		45	54	55	36	41	40	30	35	31	33	24
		11	9	10	12	11	9	11	12	15	15	15

(FORM A)

5c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

		<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	
Approve.....	51	55	59	60	63	68	70	71	74	74	76	[33] 1
Disapprove.	41	37	37	34	30	26	23	23	21	21	18	
Not sure...	8	8	4	6	7	6	7	6	5	5	6	
		<u>3/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>
		83	56	63	75	67	67	70	67	69	59	58
		11	37	30	17	22	25	22	22	21	27	26
		6	7	7	8	11	8	8	11	10	14	16

(BOTH FORMS)

6a. Looking ahead to this year's election for U.S. Congress, do you feel your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think it is time to give a new person a chance?

		<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>2/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>11/8</u>	
Reelect representative.....	27	<u>2</u> 33	<u>2</u> 33	<u>2</u> 37	<u>2</u> 42	<u>1</u> 35	<u>1</u> 40	<u>0</u> 39	<u>9</u> 41	[34]
Give new person a chance.....	62	57	57	52	48	52	48	48	36	
Not sure.....	11	10	10	11	10	13	12	13	23	

6b. In this year's election for U.S. Congress, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

		<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>7/91</u>	
Vote for the Republican candidate.....	31	31	<u>2</u> 32	30	<u>2</u> 29	<u>1</u> 27	<u>1</u> 31	29	[35]
Vote for the Democratic candidate.....	35	37	36	38	38	33	34	33	
Depends (VOL).....	11	13	14	14	18	26	20	24	
Neither (VOL).....	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	
Not sure.....	20	16	16	17	14	13	14	13	
		<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/8</u>
		31	<u>0</u> 32	33	<u>0</u> 34	25	26	<u>9</u> 27	<u>9</u> 29
		40	37	36	33	34	31	32	32
		12	14	17	22	29	33	28	24
		3	1	2	1	2	2	1	1

(FORM B)

6c. In general, do you think it is better for the same political party to control both the Congress and the presidency, so they can work together more closely, or do you think it is better to have different political parties controlling the Congress and the presidency to prevent either one from going too far?

		<u>4/92</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>9/8</u>	
			<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	
Better if controlled by <u>same</u> political party	40	32	28	24	23	24	28	[36]
Better if controlled by <u>different</u> political parties.....	47	61	62	67	67	63	64	
Not sure.....	13	7	10	9	10	13	8	

(BOTH FORMS)

7. If more women were elected to office, do you think issues and concerns of yours would be dealt with better, worse, or about the same?

Better.....	4	[37]
	1	
Worse.....	7	
About the same.....	4	
	7	
Depends upon party (VOL.).....	1	
Not sure.....	4	

- 8a. If the 1992 presidential election were held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, and Ross Perot, the Independent, for whom would you vote--George Bush, Bill Clinton, or Ross Perot? **(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean?

		<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	
George Bush.....	2	32	35	[38]
	8			
Lean Bush.....	3	3	3	
Bill Clinton.....	2	24	27	
	5			
Lean Clinton.....	3	3	3	
Ross Perot.....	2	23	23	
	9			
Lean Perot.....	4	7	3	
None (VOL).....	2	3	2	
Not sure.....	6	5	4	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO MAKE A CHOICE IN Q.8a)

- 8b. When it comes to your support of **(CANDIDATE NAMED IN Q.8a)**, would you say you totally support him, strongly support him, support him with some reservations, or support him only slightly?

	<u>Perot</u> <u>Voter</u> <u>s</u>	<u>Bush</u> <u>Voter</u> <u>s</u>	<u>Clinto</u> <u>n</u> <u>Voters</u>	
Support totally.....	7	11	11	[39]
]
Support strongly.....	30	25	20	
Support with some	55	57	52	
reservations.....				
Support only slightly.....	7	6	14	
Not sure.....	1	1	3	

(ASK EVERYONE)

9. Regardless of how you may vote, how would you rate the acceptability of the election of **(READ NAME)** as president? Please use a scale from one to ten, on which a rating of "1" means that **(READ NAME)** would be completely unacceptable and a rating of "10" means he would be highly acceptable to you as president. **(START FROM BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>C</u> <u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>HI</u> <u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>Know</u> <u>Name/</u> <u>Not Sure</u>	
Ross Perot.....	15	4	8	9	19	9	14	11	3	5	3	[40]
]
George Bush....	19	6	8	8	17	9	10	13	3	6	1	[41]

Bill Clinton..... 15 6 10 12 19 11 9 8 3 4 3]
[42
]

BUSH/LEAN BUSH IN Q.8a: ASK Q.10a, THEN SKIP TO Q.11.

CLINTON/LEAN CLINTON IN Q.8a: ASK Q.10b., THEN SKIP TO Q.11.

PEROT/LEAN PEROT IN Q.8a: ASK Q.10c AND Q.11.

IF "NONE" OR "NOT SURE" IN Q.8a: SKIP TO Q.11.

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY, "BUSH/LEAN BUSH" IN Q.8a.)

10a. Suppose that at the time of the November election, it seemed clear that George Bush had little chance to be elected and there was a very close race between Bill Clinton and Ross Perot. For whom would you vote--Bill Clinton or Ross Perot, or would you still vote for George Bush?

	Bush/ Lean Bush <u>Voters</u>	
Bill Clinton.....	16	SKIP TO Q.11.
Ross Perot.....	21	
George Bush.....	59	
None of these (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	2	

[43]

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY, "CLINTON/LEAN CLINTON" IN Q.8a.)

10b. Suppose that at the time of the November election, it seemed clear that Bill Clinton had little chance to be elected and there was a very close race between George Bush and Ross Perot. For whom would you vote--George Bush or Ross Perot, or would you still vote for Bill Clinton?

	Clinton/ Lean Clinton <u>Voters</u>	
George Bush.....	17	SKIP TO Q.11.
Ross Perot.....	20	
Bill Clinton.....	57	
None of these (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

[44]

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY, "PEROT/LEAN PEROT" IN Q.8a.)

10c. Suppose that at the time of the November election, it seemed clear that Ross Perot had little chance to be elected and there was a very close race between George Bush and Bill Clinton. For whom would you vote--George Bush or Bill Clinton, or would you still vote for Ross Perot?

	Perot/ Lean Perot <u>Voters</u>	
George Bush.....	23	[45]
Bill Clinton.....	21	
Ross Perot.....	49	
None of these (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	5	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

11. If none of the three major candidates for president receives a majority of votes in the Electoral College this fall, the next president will be chosen by the House of Representatives. If this happens, how should your own representative vote--for the candidate who received the most votes in your district, for the candidate who received the most votes nationally, for the candidate of your representative's political party, or should your representative vote his or her own conscience?

Vote for the national winner.....	32
Vote according to party.....	8
Vote according to conscience.....	22
Not sure.....	5

(ASK EVERYONE.)

12. If anything were to happen to President Bush, would you feel comfortable or uncomfortable with Vice President Quayle as president?

		<u>1/92</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>9/90</u>	
Comfortable.....	28	30	34	22	[47]
Uncomfortable.....	66	62	56	69	
Some of both (VOL).....	3	3	4	2	
Neither (VOL).....	-	1	1	1	
Not sure.....	3	4	5	6	

13. Regardless of whom you may ultimately vote for, when you just consider **(READ ITEM)** would you say you feel satisfied or do you have major doubts about having him as president?

(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) When you just consider **(READ ITEM) would you say you feel satisfied or do you have major doubts about having him as president? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)****

	<u>Satisfie</u> <u>d</u>	<u>Major</u> <u>Doubts</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u>	
George Bush's goals for what he would do in a second term.....	33	61	6	[48]
Ross Perot's character and personal values.....	42	48	10	[49]
George Bush's explanation for agreeing to raise taxes in 1990.....	30	65	5	[50]
Bill Clinton's character and personal values.....	42	51	7	[51]
Ross Perot's positions on the issues.....	32	53	15	[52]
Ross Perot's explanation for why he has checked into the personal lives of some of his employees.....	38	53	9	[53]
Bill Clinton's explanation for why he did not serve in the Vietnam War.....	49	41	10	[54]
George Bush's character and personal values.....	69	28	3	[55]
Bill Clinton's positions on the issues.....	46	45	9	[56]

(FORM A)

14a. I'd like to read you a few qualities that a president might have. For each one, please tell me whether you think this describes **George Bush** very well, describes him fairly well, does not describe him well, or does not describe him at all.

(READ ITEM AND ASK:) Do you think this describes George Bush very well, fairly well, not well, or not at all? **.(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Describe s Very Well	Describe s Fairly Well	Does Not Describe Well	Does Not Describe e At All	Not Sure	
Effective, knows how to get things done						
July 1992.....	10	50	25	14	1	[57]
April 1992.....	14	52	20	13	1	
Friendly and likeable						
July 1992.....	38	46	7	8	1	[58]
A strong leader, has courage of his convictions						
July 1992.....	23	41	19	15	2	[59]
April 1992.....	31	37	16	15	1	
Has good ideas for the future						
July 1992.....	9	32	34	22	3	[60]
April 1992.....	10	36	28	23	3	
Stable and dependable						
July 1992.....	26	42	18	11	3	[61]
Honest, a person you can trust						
July 1992.....	25	35	20	17	3	[62]
April 1992.....	25	43	15	15	2	
Cares about and fights for the average person						
July 1992.....	9	29	34	26	2	[63]
April 1992.....	9	28	26	36	1	

(FORM A)

- 14b. Now, I'd like to read you these qualities that a president might have again. For each one, please tell me whether you think this describes **Bill Clinton** very well, fairly well, not well, or not at all.
(READ ITEM AND ASK:) Do you think this describes Bill Clinton very well, fairly well, not well, or not at all?
(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Describe s Very Well	Describe s Fairly Well	Does Not Describe Well	Does Not Describe e At All	Not Sure	
Effective, knows how to get things done						
July 1992.....	11	46	20	8	15	[64]
April 1992.....	12	42	18	12	16	
Friendly and likable						
July 1992.....	29	54	8	5	4	[65]
A strong leader, has the courage of his convictions						
July 1992.....	15	42	22	10	11	[66]
April 1992.....	15	41	17	15	12	
Has good ideas for the future						
July 1992.....	18	49	16	8	9	[67]
April 1992.....	17	42	20	10	11	
Stable and dependable						
July 1992.....	10	41	26	11	12	[68]
Honest, a person you can trust						
July 1992.....	10	33	27	17	13	[69]
April 1992.....	5	28	29	27	11	
Cares about and fights for the average person						
July 1992.....	20	47	15	8	10	[70]
April 1992.....	16	44	15	11	14	

(FORM B)

- 14c. I'd like to read you a few qualities that a president might have. For each one, please tell me whether you think this describes **Ross Perot** very well, describes him fairly well, does not describe him well, or does not describe him at all.
(READ ITEM AND ASK:) Do you think this describes Ross Perot very well, fairly well, not well, or not at all? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Describe s Very Well	Describe s Fairly Well	Does Not Describe e Well	Does Not Describe At All	Not Sure	
Effective, knows how to get things done.....	45	36	8	6	5	[71]
Friendly and likable.....	26	41	18	9	6	[72]
A strong leader, has the courage of his convictions.....	46	31	11	6	6	[73]
Has good ideas for the future.....	25	37	17	11	10	[74]
Stable and dependable.....	28	40	14	9	9	[75]
Honest, a person you can trust.....	20	36	21	12	11	[76]
Cares about and fights for the average person.	22	33	22	12	11	[77]

(BOTH FORMS)

- 14d. Suppose you had a choice among George Bush, Bill Clinton, and Ross Perot to be the principal at your child's school. Which one would you choose? **(READ CHOICES.)**

George Bush.....	3	[78]
	6	
Bill Clinton.....	2	
	6	
Ross Perot.....	3	
	1	
None of those (VOL).....	4	
All equally (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	2	

15. Four years ago, George Bush said he wanted to build a "kinder and gentler" America. Do you think he has or has not succeeded?

Yes, has succeeded.....	1	[79]
	5	
No, has not succeeded.....	8	
	0	
Not sure.....	5	

(FORM B)

16. For each of the following individuals or groups, please tell me whether you believe this person or group represents traditional American values very well, somewhat well, or not that well.

(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) Would you say that **(READ ITEM)** represents traditional American values very well, somewhat well, or not that well. **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Very <u>Well</u>	Somewha t <u>Well</u>	Not That <u>Well</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
The news media.....	9	42	48	1	[80]
The Democratic Party.....	10	57	30	3	[81]
George Bush.....	23	48	28	1	[82]
Ross Perot.....	19	51	23	7	[83]
Dan Quayle.....	17	38	42	3	[84]
Bill Clinton.....	11	52	31	6	[85]
The Republican Party.....	12	48	36	4	[86]
The movie industry.....	7	20	68	5	[87]

(BOTH FORMS)

17a. I'm going to read you five qualities and values that people might look for in a president. Please tell me which **one or two** you would most want to see in a president. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES.)**

	Q.17a. Want Most To See In A <u>President</u>		Q.17b. Best Describes <u>Bush</u>		Q.17c. Best Describe s <u>Clinton</u>		Q.17d. Best Describe s <u>Perot</u>	
A) Strongly supports equality for all Americans.....	47	[88]	11	[89]	37	[90]	18	[91]
B) Patriotic, believes in America.....	25	>	56	>	28	>	42	>
C) Sticks to his principles.....	28		19		14		32	
D) Lives by a strict moral code, has a strong faith in God.....	32		40		8		21	
E) Compassionate, believes in helping people in need.....	33		14		39		17	
All equally (VOL).....	8		2		1		4	
None of these (VOL).....	1		7		8		5	
Not sure.....	1		3		11		11	

17b. Now, I'd like to read you these qualities and values again. Please tell me which **one or two** you think best describes George Bush. **(REPEAT LIST ABOVE IN Q.17a SLOWLY. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES. RECORD UNDER Q.17b. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

17c. Now, I'd like to read you these qualities and values again. Please tell me which **one or two** you think best describes Bill Clinton. **(REPEAT LIST ABOVE IN Q.17a SLOWLY. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES. RECORD UNDER Q.17c. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

17d. Now, I'd like to read you these qualities and values again. Please tell me which **one or two** you think best describes Ross Perot. **(REPEAT LIST ABOVE IN Q.17a SLOWLY. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES. RECORD UNDER Q.17d. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

(FORM A)

18a. Now, let me read you a list of some specific issues. When it comes to (READ ITEM), which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, neither, or are both about the same?

	<u>Democra</u> <u>tic</u> <u>Party</u>	<u>Republica</u> <u>n</u> <u>Party</u>	<u>Neithe</u> <u>r</u>	<u>Bot</u> <u>h</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sur</u> <u>e</u>
Dealing with the economy					[92]
July 1992.....	26	18	18	35	3
May 1992.....	29	25	17	25	4
April 1992.....	29	24	17	27	3
February 1992.....	28	22	16	31	3
January 1992.....	28	23	12	33	4
October 1991.....	27	28	14	26	5
October 1990.....	31	30	13	21	5
November 1989.....	26	40	10	18	6
Upholding traditional American values					[93]
July 1992.....	24	29	12	32	3
Dealing with the issue of abortion					[94]
July 1992.....	32	18	19	22	9
May 1992.....	35	21	16	12	16
April 1992.....	34	19	17	19	11
February 1992.....	31	20	17	20	12
October 1991.....	36	22	15	14	13
October 1990.....	32	19	16	16	17
November 1989.....	29	21	16	16	18
Protecting the environment					[95]
July 1992.....	38	11	18	27	6
October 1991.....	39	16	12	24	9
October 1990.....	38	15	13	27	7
November 1989.....	36	15	14	25	10
Dealing with foreign policy					[96]
July 1992.....	15	48	7	24	6
April 1992.....	21	48	9	18	4
February 1992.....	16	48	7	22	7
January 1992.....	13	42	6	31	8
Dealing with education					[97]
July 1992.....	42	17	12	25	4
October 1991 *.....	28	14	18	33	7
October 1990 *.....	33	15	14	30	8
November 1989 *.....	30	15	15	32	8
Dealing with taxes					[98]
July 1992.....	29	20	25	20	6
May 1992.....	30	26	23	14	7
April 1992.....	30	24	23	18	5
February 1992.....	35	26	17	17	5
October 1991.....	26	31	18	18	7
October 1990.....	38	25	14	17	6
November 1989.....	29	36	12	16	7

* The question was worded, "strengthening our

Q.18a. (FORM A) cont'd.

Democrat
c
Party

Republican
Party

Neither

Both

Not
Sure

Dealing with problems of health care [99]

July 1992.....	44	10	19	21	6
April 1992.....	48	12	18	17	5
October 1991.....	46	12	16	18	8

Protecting America's interests on trade issues [100]

July 1992.....	23	32	15	24	6
May 1992.....	24	33	12	20	11
January 1992.....	25	26	9	31	9
October 1991.....	22	36	10	21	11
October 1990.....	22	35	9	24	10
November 1989.....	20	36	9	23	12

(FORM B)

18b. Now, let me read you a list of some specific issues. When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, who do you think would do the best job as president--Bill Clinton, Ross Perot, George Bush, none of them, or all of them about the same? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER**

	<u>Bill Clinton</u>	<u>Ross Perot</u>	<u>George Bush</u>	<u>None of Them</u>	<u>All of Them</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Dealing with the economy							[101]
July 1992.....	16	37	16	11	18	2	
May 1992.....	21	29	20	12	11	7	
Upholding traditional American values							[102]
July 1992.....	12	23	39	5	19	2	
Dealing with the issue of abortion							[103]
July 1992.....	27	15	23	15	8	12	
May 1992.....	24	7	24	14	7	24	
Protecting the environment							[104]
July 1992.....	25	15	16	18	16	10	
Dealing with foreign policy							[105]
July 1992.....	9	14	60	4	7	6	
Dealing with education							[106]
July 1992.....	26	28	22	9	10	5	
Dealing with taxes							[107]
July 1992.....	17	33	15	17	11	7	
May 1992.....	22	25	20	17	6	10	
Dealing with the problem of health care							[108]
July 1992.....	32	20	13	14	12	9	
Protecting America's interests on trade issues							[109]
July 1992.....	9	37	27	8	11	8	
May 1992.....	17	23	35	6	7	12	

(FORM A)

19. What do you want most to hear or learn about Bill Clinton during the upcoming Democratic National Convention? What doubts or uncertainties does he need to address before you could support him for president?

Need to know where he stands on the issues; What is his platform? He needs to address issues, be more specific	17%	[110-113]
What will he do to improve the economy?	14	
Not credible, not trustworthy, not sincere; can't believe anything he says	12	
What are his plans for education system?	9	
What will he do as President? How will he solve our problems? How will he implement his plans?	8	
Need to clean up his personal life; concerned about his morals, values	7	
What are his stands on health care	7	
Not interested in Clinton, don't support him	9	
Don't know; no response	12	

(BOTH FORMS)

20. Let me read you a number of different goals that Bill Clinton may want to accomplish at the upcoming Democratic National Convention. For each one, please tell me whether you think this should be a top priority for Bill Clinton, a secondary priority, or not a priority at all.

.....

(READ EACH ITEM AND ASK:) Do you think that should be a top priority, a secondary priority, or not a priority at all? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Top Priority</u>	<u>Secondar y Priority</u>	<u>Not A Priority At All</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Selecting a person as his vice presidential running mate who is outside the Democratic establishment.....	26	33	38	3	[114]
Giving a fuller explanation of his priorities and what he would do as president.....	82	12	4	2	[115]
Building his alliances with Democratic constituencies, such as labor, women, and minorities.....	57	30	11	2	[116]
Demonstrating that he is not controlled by special interest groups.....	64	25	9	2	[117]
Giving a fuller explanation of his background and values.....	42	32	24	2	[118]
Making peace with Jesse Jackson and enlisting his help for the fall campaign.....	18	31	48	3	[119]

21. Now, let me read you a number of statements. For each one, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with that statement. **(READ ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. ROTATE.)**

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure	
The Bush campaign is engaging in dirty tricks, such as spreading claims that associates of Ross Perot investigated numerous individuals, including George Bush and his family, several years ago.....	35	54	11	[120]
Ross Perot is a risky choice for president because he might have conducted private investigations into the lives of several individuals, including President Bush	36	58	6	[121]
We need a third major political party, because it would make the government do a better job of addressing the problems our country faces.....	55	41	4	[122]

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about the economy.

22. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

		<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	
Better.....	28	<u>2</u>				<u>1</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>				[123]
		33	39	39	33	26	26	32	34	37	37	46	1
Worse.....	23	18	19	23	29	31	32	24	24	23	22	20	
Stay about the same.....	46	45	39	35	34	38	37	39	37	37	38	27	
Not sure.....	3	4	3	3	4	5	5	5	5	3	3	7	
		<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
		<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>				<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		<u>9</u>		
		25	21	13	16	20	22	24	21	22	21	25	
		40	45	52	49	33	32	29	30	28	33	23	
		28	30	30	26	40	41	42	44	44	39	43	
		7	4	5	9	7	5	5	5	6	7	9	

23. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important issue facing the country? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

		<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	
Inflation.....	6	7	7	5	8	8	10	10	9	9	[124] 1
Unemployment.....	50	43	47	52	53	48	39	37	35	30	
Interest rates.....	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	
The federal budget deficit.	25	24	22	20	16	19	24	23	27	34	
Federal taxes.....	4	6	4	4	4	4	7	6	7	7	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	7	8	9	9	7	8	8	8	10	11	
All equally important (VOL).....	6	8	7	7	8	9	8	10	6	3	
None is important (VOL)..	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	
Not sure.....	-	2	1	-	1	1	1	3	2	2	
		<u>5/9</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/89</u>
		<u>1</u>									
		9	10	11	13	13	8	9	13	12	12
		32	31	26	16	22	21	22	20	23	23
		2	3	3	2	3	4	5	5	4	4
		29	32	35	43	34	37	35	30	29	32
		6	6	7	10	5	9	9	7	7	8

11	10	11	9	14	14	14	17	18	15
10	6	6	6	6	6	4	6	5	4
-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2

(FORM A)

24. Who do you blame most for the country's economic problems? **(READ LIST. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

		<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/9</u>	
President Bush.....	27	25	29	23	19	20	[125]
The Federal Reserve.....	3	6	4	4	4	4	
Democrats in Congress.....	28	23	13	15	12	22	
Banks.....	6	6	5	6	11	9	
The normal business cycle.	20	22	29	27	30	21	
All equally (VOL).....	8	8	10	13	13	12	
None of these (VOL).....	5	6	4	7	6	7	
Not sure.....	3	4	6	5	5	5	

Now, I'd like to ask you about some domestic social issues.

(BOTH FORMS)

25. How would you describe the federal government's reaction to the Los Angeles riots--would you say the federal government has done too much, too little, or do you think it has had about the right response?

Too much.....	9	[126]
Too little.....	47	
The right response.....	38	
Not sure.....	6	

(FORM B)

26. Now, I'd like to ask you about some recent rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court. For each one, please tell me whether you approve or disapprove with the Supreme Court's decision.

(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
States may require women to wait twenty-four hours before receiving an abortion and may require women under age 18 to obtain permission from a parent before receiving an abortion.....	57	38	5	[127]
Public schools may not sponsor organized prayers because this establishes religion and unfairly forces students to participate	33	66	1	[128]
Smokers who get sick can sue tobacco companies that withheld information about smoking and misrepresented the health risks of smoking in their advertisements	31	67	2	[129]

(BOTH FORMS)

- 27a. Do you think abortion should be illegal, or not?

		<u>5/92</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>4/8</u>	<u>1/8</u>	<u>10/8</u>	<u>2/8</u>	<u>8/82</u>	
Yes.....	26	28	31	32	34	34	31	36	31	[130]

No.....	67		65	60	60	61	61	61	58	62	1
Not sure.....	7		7	9	8	5	5	8	6	7	

- 27b. The next justice appointed to the Supreme Court is likely to be the deciding vote on whether to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, which would allow states to make abortion illegal. Should the next justice be someone who favors letting states make abortion illegal, opposes it, or is the issue not an important consideration when the next justice is chosen?

Support allowing states to make abortion illegal..	21	[131]
Support preventing states from making abortion illegal.....	45]
Not an important consideration.....	28	
Not sure.....	6	

- 27c. How much would you say the abortion issue will affect your vote for president this year--would you say it is the single most important issue in deciding how you will vote for president, one of several important issues, or would you say that abortion is not a major issue in deciding how you will vote for president?

Single most important issue.....	6	[132]
One of several issues.....	45]
Not a major issue.....	48	
Not sure.....	1	

Now I'd like to ask some questions about foreign policy.

(FORM A)

28. Do you favor or oppose the United States' sending troops to Yugoslavia to try to help stop the civil war there?

Favor.....	2	[133]
	7	
Oppose.....	6	
	5	
Not sure.....	8	

(FORM B)

29. As you may know, Israel recently elected a new prime minister. Do you think the prospects for peace in the Middle East have improved, gotten worse, or are they unchanged since a new prime minister has been elected?

Improved.....	2	[134]
	6	
Gotten worse.....	5	
Unchanged.....	5	
	4	
Not sure.....	1	
	5	

(BOTH FORMS)

30. Recently, Ronald Reagan's secretary of Defense, Caspar Weinberger, was indicted on charges that stem from the Iran-Contra affair, which involved arms sales to Iran. If evidence shows that Ronald Reagan may have been personally involved, do you think charges should or should not be brought against him?

Should bring charges.....	6	[135]
	3	
Should not bring charges.....	3	
	3	
Not sure.....	4	

And one last question on a different topic:

31. Recently, Dan Quayle misspelled the word potato. Do you think it was just an unfortunate mistake, or do you think he really didn't know how to spell the word?

Just an unfortunate mistake.....	6	[136]
----------------------------------	---	--------------

	9
Really didn't know how to spell word.....	2
	5
Not sure.....	6

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1988 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, or Michael Dukakis, the Democrat?

Didn't vote.....	9	[137]
Voted for George Bush.....	5	
	4	
Voted for Michael Dukakis.....	2	
	9	
Other candidate (VOL).....	2	
Too young (VOL).....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	4	

F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal.....	7	[138]
Somewhat liberal.....	2	
	0	
Moderate.....	2	
	4	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	3	
Very conservative.....	8	
No thoughts.....	1	
	7	
Not sure.....	1	

F3. And generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	[139]
	4	
Not strong Democrat.....	1	
	7	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	9	
Strictly Independent.....	1	
	8	
Independent/lean Republican.....	1	
	0	
Not strong Republican.....	1	
	7	
Strong Republican.....	1	
	0	
Other.....	3	
Refused.....	-	
Don't know/nothing.....	2	

F4. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	2	[140]
Some high school.....	6	
High school graduate.....	3	
	0	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	9	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	9	

4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	1
	9
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's	9
degree.....	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	3
Not sure.....	-

F5. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	8	[141]
25-29.....	1	
	0	
30-34.....	1	
	1	
35-39.....	1	
	1	
40-44.....	1	
	2	
45-49.....	7	
50-54.....	9	
55-59.....	7	
60-64.....	6	
65 and over.....	1	
	8	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F6. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

Professional/manager.....	2	[142]
	2	
White collar worker.....	2	
	6	
Blue collar worker.....	1	
	9	
Farmer.....	1	
Student.....	3	
Homemaker.....	1	
	0	
Retired.....	1	
	7	
Unemployed.....	2	
Never worked/not sure.....	-	

F7. What is your marital status--are you single and never married, married, separated, divorced, or widowed?

Single.....	2	[143]
	0	
Married.....	6	
	1	
Separated.....	1	
Divorced.....	1	
	0	
Widowed.....	8	
Not sure/refused.....	-	

F8a. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	5	ASK	[144]
	8	F.8b	
Catholic.....	2	SKIP	
	8		
Jewish.....	3	TO	
Other.....	7	F.9	
None.....	3		
Not sure/refused.....	1		

(ASK ONLY OF PROTESTANTS:)

F8b. Do you consider yourself to be a born-again Christian--that is, have you personally had a conversion experience related to Jesus Christ?

Born-again.....	2	[145]
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	7	
Not born-again.....	2	
	9	
Not sure.....	2	
Non-Protestants.....	4	
	2	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F9. Do you have any children under age 18 living in your home?

Yes.....	3	[146]
	6	
No.....	6	
	4	
Not sure/refused.....	-	

F10. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	83	[147]
Black.....	11	
Hispanic.....	4	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	-	

F11. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	7	[148]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	5	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	7	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	9	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	4	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	4	
More than \$75,000.....	9	
Not sure/refused.....	5	